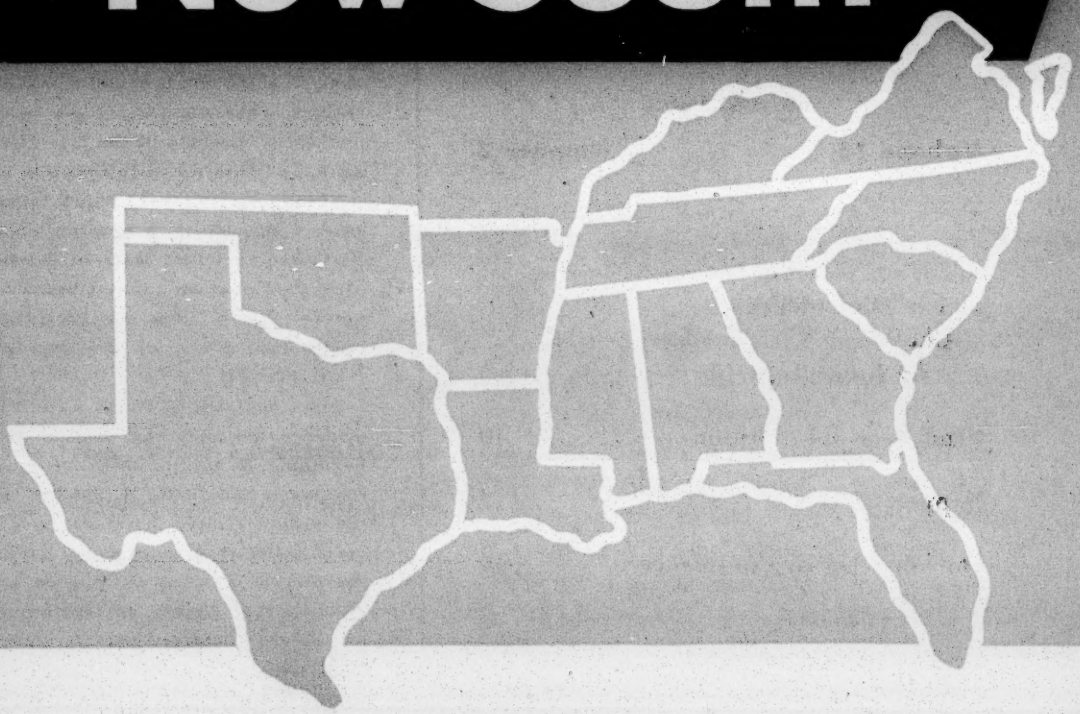
New South



- **North Carolina Student Protest**
  John Constable
- **Find Peaceful Solution**
- **Support Protests**
- **Outcome Up to Conscience**
- **. . . Unquote**

MARCH | **1960**

New South

Published by
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

March, 1960

Volume 15 **Number 3**

Contents

Negro Student Protests Challenge N. C. Leaders by John Constable 3

Find Peaceful Solution 10

Support Protests 12

Outcome Up to Conscience . . . 14

Officers

James McBride Dabbs . . . . . President
Marion A. Wright . . . . . Vice-President
A. W. Dent . . . . . Vice-President
Miss Josephine Wilkins . . . Vice-President
Rufus E. Clement . . . . . Vice-President
Joseph Haas . . . . . Counsel
Harold C. Fleming . . . . Executive Director

Information Staff

John Constable . . . Director of Information

Subscription rate . . . . . $2.00 a year

New South is published monthly except August by Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia. Single copies may be purchased at twenty cents each; quantity rates on request.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt

New South Notes

The protest movement against segregated lunch counters in North Carolina has, as Martin Luther King, Jr., says, "baffled and astounded" white leaders. This was true of the early "sit-down" protests in the Tar Heel state. The Director of Information of the Southern Regional Council found leaders unsure of themselves when he visited the cities involved shortly after the "sit-down" protest began to spread. His findings are presented in the lead article of this issue of NEW SOUTH.

Since the visit to North Carolina, evidence indicates that leaders are beginning to try to work out sane reasonable solutions. A number of the cities involved have set up biracial advisory committees or are in the process of doing so. A good indication that leaders are beginning to face the problems and try to recoup some of the lost prestige the state has received from adverse publicity is a recent lead editorial from the *Twin City Sentinel* of Winston-Salem, N. C.

The editorial titled, "When Lunch Counters Reopen, They Should Serve All Customers," read, in part: ". . . Winston-Salem has already moved away from enforced segregation in its public school system, on city buses, on its public golf courses and in Memorial Coliseum. Desegregation in these areas has been accomplished with little or no fanfare. It is an accomplished fact. We could reasonably expect a similar result if lunch counters were added to the list."

Also included in this issue are statements and comments from other leaders both white and Negro, on the lunch-counter protests.

Negro Student Protests Challenge N. C. Leaders

By John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council

They don't know how to cope with it . . . .

So says Martin Luther King, Jr., of the student protest movement against segregated lunch-counter facilities. Dr. King was speaking about the white leadership's response to the non-violent movement springing up over the South.

His remark rings true, for, indeed, the established Southern political and economic leadership doesn't know how to cope with the situation. Each new assault against inequality by Negroes brings resistance from white leadership, or, at best, grudging concessions.

In a trip to North Carolina cities involved in the student protest, one of the lasting impressions gained is the inability of the white leadership to understand and effectively solve the problems arising from the Negro's desire for status as a first-class citizen.

A mayor of one of the cities said, off the record, "We should have seen this coming and should have sat down and worked it out beforehand." But this official, the merchants and other community leaders are reluctant to move to head off situations such as this protest movement for fear of being labeled "integrationists." Several of the North Carolina mayors deplored the fact that a movement of this type should happen where "race relations have been good," and many white leaders expressed the belief that "Negroes are moving too fast." The real problem, however, seems to be that the prevailing white leadership in the South moves only when confronted with a situation where the alternative to what the Negro is seeking would be more unwelcome than the concessions asked.

The lunch-counter protest should serve as a dramatic warning to Southern leadership. All Negroes and many of the white persons interviewed during the seven-city tour indicated a strong belief

Protests

(Continued)

that the lunch-counter demonstrations are only one phase of an intensified drive by the Negro to achieve equality in all areas of public life.

A North Carolina newspaper editor said, "It is silly to think the students will stop at lunch counters;" and a distinguished educator in one Negro community said that the plans were already being formulated for a drive to secure better job opportunities for Negroes when the student movement began.

The lunch-counter demonstrations, although apparently spontaneous, local movements, showed many similarities in the cities visited. The trip included the six North Carolina cities of Charlotte, Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, High Point and Winston-Salem, and Rock Hill, South Carolina, 25 miles from Charlotte.

Most of the observations here apply only to the North Carolina cities visited with some similarities noted in Rock Hill, S. C. The situations described here are not typical of those in other cities in Southern states to which the protests later spread.

Local Nature

Although students in each of the cities welcomed support from other groups, they seemed determined to keep the movements as local and as much under the leadership of the students as possible. In each of the seven cities, student leadership from colleges or high schools took the initiative.

Typical of the attitude of student demonstrators was this brief statement from Joseph Charles Jones, a Negro divinity student at Johnson C. Smith University and spokesman for the student group in Charlotte. The student leader told the press:

"It's a manifestation of the unrest among this generation of students. It comes from their desire to dramatize the injustice of the Negro's position. It is part of their feeling about the schools, the vote—civil rights in general."

"I discovered," he said, "that many of the students were anxious to go downtown to the stores. But there was no leadership or defined purpose. I felt that someone had to give it direction, to make the Charlotte movement meaningful and purposeful.

"On Tuesday, February 9, after the word spread, about 150 students assembled outside the administration building. I talked to them about the importance of passive resistance. I said we could not afford to retaliate, in any way, to insults or even overt attacks. I emphasized that passive resistance is the most effective tool a minority group has."

A similar statement came from Carl Matthews, chairman of the student organization from Winston-Salem Teachers College. He is quoted as saying:

"We don't want to hurt their (the merchants) cash registers. Rather, we want to put justice in their business. We believe it is morally wrong, as well as un-Christian, to maintain segregated facilities. We will continue to use the non-violent approach because we believe non-violence is not the weapon of the weak and the coward; it is the weapon of the strong and the brave."

Two student leaders from Friendship Junior College in Rock Hill emphasized

the local nature of the protest and said the students were not "influenced" by any outside efforts or other protest groups.

In most of the cities visited, the students discouraged the Negro community from organizing a full-scale boycott of the stores involved; but it was inevitable that these stores should experience a sharp drop in business.

However, several weeks after the protest movement in Winston-Salem and after student protest leaders were arrested, a full-scale boycott of stores was called for and supported by the city's Negro ministers.

It was difficult to determine the drop in trade in the cities involved, but observers in each of the cities said trade in particular stores and in the cities generally was off. One variety store manager in Charlotte was quoted as saying business was off 65 per cent in his store; another manager in Greensboro reported a 35 per cent drop. And, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, volume in four S. H. Kress stores in the South dropped 15-18 per cent.

'Don't Buy'

In Charlotte, one Negro observer said, "There was talk of an organized 'Don't buy where you can't eat' campaign; but the idea was dropped. Instead, individuals seemed to have made up their minds not to trade in the stores involved; and some accounts have been quietly withdrawn from two of the stores involved."

A mayor of one of the cities said that not only had Negro trade practically ceased in the stores involved but business in other stores had been hurt also. He said Negroes were not trading for obvious reasons and white persons were not shopping as much because they were wary of getting involved in incidents.

White Boycott

In Rock Hill, S. C., two of the segregationist groups advocated a boycott of the white merchants who had closed their counters, while a third segregationist group was advocating an increase in buying by white persons to offset the drop in Negro trade. A Negro observer here said trade in the city was obviously off and it was especially noticeable on Saturday, normally a heavy shopping day.

In Raleigh, where the first trespass arrests took place on the sidewalks of a shopping center, Negro customers reportedly were phoning stores in the center inquiring how they were to pay their accounts. They reportedly expressed the fear that, since the arrests had taken place on the sidewalk and not at the lunch counter, they were afraid they might even be arrested if they visited to shop or pay accounts.

The boycott, whether organized or on an individual basis, is clearly another non-violent weapon in the hands of the Negro community. The *Wall Street Journal* reported that Negro expenditures in Charlotte are estimated at $150 million annually. And the variety stores, which are most affected by the protest, draw the majority of their business from lower income groups, which include many Negroes.

Added to the drop in business in the South, Negro and interracial groups in the North urged a boycott of the stores involved, especially of the large chain stores.

Although non-violence has been

Protests

(Continued)

stressed in the movement, violence has plagued several of the cities involved. Little has been initiated by Negroes; most was begun by white hoodlum elements or teen-agers looking for excitement.

In Raleigh, white hecklers harassed Negro student pickets and some physical violence occurred. However, the arrest and conviction of a white man for hitting a Negro student with a dog chain quietened the hecklers somewhat. The day the white man was sentenced 60 days, later appealed, many interested white persons gathered on the streets near the pickets as usual; but there was little heckling.

In some of the cities involved, the police have done a good job in protecting Negroes from violence, while in others they have only moved to prevent what might have developed into a serious riot.

Police Efforts

One Negro leader in Raleigh criticized the police for not acting more quickly and firmly to prevent assaults on the Negro pickets. In Raleigh, most of the stores involved are all in one block. Negroes picketed by marching in front of the stores. The Negro leader said that, before the assault arrests of several white persons, police were stationed only at the corners of the block while most of the trouble occurred in the center of the block. On the day of the conviction of the white man, a young policeman stood duty in the center of the block; and events were relatively quiet.

In Charlotte, it was reported that the Negro students kept close check with Police Chief Jesse James for advice as to when they were on shaky legal ground. Chief James reportedly told students he would protect both them and the merchants from any violence.

Community Stimulus

In Winston-Salem, where students were arrested on trespass charges, city officials pointedly made it plain that it was the store manager of F. W. Woolworth who ordered the arrests and so city police had no choice.

One of the impressive results of the protests is the stimulus the movements have provided to the Negro adult community. In varying degrees in each of the cities, Negro community groups rallied behind the Negro students.

In Charlotte, a committee of adult community leaders was quickly organized and a sub-committee appointed to aid the students in the movement. The impression here was that it was difficult to keep the protest a strictly student movement since the adult community was eager to participate.

In Raleigh, a citizen's committee in the Negro community, which had been inactive for several years, was reactivated and continues to give support to the students. The citizen's group in Raleigh raised money to provide bond and defense counsel for Negro students arrested on trespass charges.

Dr. W. R. Strassner, president of Shaw University in Raleigh, also released a statement in support of the students. It was suggested that, since the school had a parental responsibility for the students, officials there should stop the protest. Dr. Strassner told the press

that school officials did feel a parental responsibility to students but as long as they did nothing wrong and were merely exercising democratic rights, the school would not discipline them.

Other Negro college and university officials gave tacit, if little open, support of the students. It was reliably reported, however, that pressure had been applied to officials in state-supported schools to bring their power to bear in helping to stop the demonstrations.

In Durham, a citizens' committee already was functioning effectively in the Negro community when the movement began; in Greensboro, a group was reactivated and appointed the Reverend William T. Brown to act as a liaison between the Negro community and the students. And in High Point, Winston-Salem and Rock Hill, the students all had strong support from the Negro community.

The students also have had backing from some white persons in each community; particularly, white students.

White Students

Early in the movement, white students from colleges in Greensboro joined Negro students in the sitdown protests. Some students from Duke University aided the students in Durham. In Winston-Salem, 10 white students from Wake Forest College were arrested along with 12 Negro students from Winston-Salem Teachers College when they refused to leave a Woolworth lunch-counter area. William Stevens, a spokesman for the Wake Forest group, told the press:

"We do not represent Wake Forest College or any other organized group. Our objective was not to cause animosity, not to stir up trouble. We wanted to show the Negroes of Winston-Salem that at least a few white people are concerned enough to act against prejudice."

Student Paper

Shortly after the first demonstration in Greensboro, the *Daily Tar Heel*, student newspaper at the University of North Carolina, editorialized:

> A&T is a Negro college in Greensboro . . . Currently the students at said school are waging a sitdown strike to obtain eating privileges at F. W. Woolworth Store in Greensboro. Their efforts have gained more than a little attention in the state and region. They have even been joined by some white college students from some of the female colleges in the area. They must stick to their guns publicly. Closing the gap between the races will take time, and peaceful perseverance such as the A&T students are showing is just part of the process. We hope they win. We hope they win BIG and we hope they will SOON.

Various interracial organizations and other groups composed entirely of white persons came publicly to the support of the students. The North Carolina Council on Human Relations, an interracial organization, released a statement (printed elsewhere in this issue) in support of the movement. A local interracial group in Greensboro came out in support of the students and again urged Mayor George Roach of that city to set up a bi-racial advisory committee. And the North Carolina Council of Churches backed the student stand.

Also in Greensboro, a group of white faculty members from Greensboro College, Woman's College of the University

Protests

(Continued)

of North Carolina and Guilford College supported a plan to open eating facilities on a non-segregated basis.

Other local groups also supported the protests. Typical was a memorandum from approximately 50 white ministers and laymen in Raleigh who wrote the store managers involved in the dispute, reassuring them of continued support "if you feel led to reopen on the basis of nondiscriminatory service for all."

A number of white persons expressed the opinion that if the four Negro freshmen from A&T had been served at the lunch counter in Greensboro there would have been little reaction.

Random opinion of some of white persons not actively involved in any way in the protest, either pro or con, indicated that a great many persons in the white community believed that the protests would dwindle away in a couple of weeks.

White Conservatives

Some of the city officials and other conservative white persons with an interest in the protest indicated they believed that a private business owner should be allowed to serve only those patrons he desired, but they also indicated that they thought the stores that catered to Negro patrons in one portion of the store couldn't afford to discriminate in others. As one editor put it: "The dime stores don't have a leg to stand on."

However, the liberal elements in the white community generally expressed an opinion that any establishment that caters to any portion of the public should not be allowed to discriminate because of color. As one liberal said, "If the person is intoxicated, disorderly, or dirty, then an owner should be able to refuse service; but if he is licensed to do business with the public, then he should not discriminate arbitrarily against any segment of that public."

Press Reaction

Press reactions in the cities involved have been varied, but some newspapers have cautiously supported the Negro students' aims. For instance:

from the *Raleigh News and Observer,* February 11, 1960

> . . . In effect, he (the Negro) was cordially invited to the house but definitely not to the table. And to say the least this was complicated hospitality. As a very natural result the action of the Negroes has been embarrassing to stores which are not merely ready but eager to serve Negroes in most stores but not in the Southern ones.

from the *Greensboro Daily News,* February 15, 1960

> . . . the only sensible course is to find some way to serve all of those customers who want to be served. It should be done if it means setting up little separate but equal areas as a start, or ripping out all the seats and letting everybody eat standing up or simply at some unannounced time initiating a policy of service for all.

from the *Winston-Salem Journal,* February 25, 1960

> . . . The manager of F. W. Woolworth Company thus was acting entirely within his rights in swearing out trespass warrants against the Negro and white demonstrators who refused a request to leave the store's lunch-counter area. And

the police had no choice but to arrest the demonstrators when the manager accused them of trespassing.

The demonstrators themselves, who have every right to peaceably protest segregated lunch-counter seating, were on questionable ground when they defied the manager's order. Clearly, they had no legal right to carry the demonstration as far as they did in this instance.

But it is equally clear that the store manager was inviting trouble when he opened his lunch counter, apparently on a segregated basis, behind a sign stating that only employees and their guests were to be admitted . . .

The current demonstrations indicate that Negroes are becoming more restless and reluctant to wait in their move toward equality. Probably partly because of resultant publicity, the protest movement spread quickly after the initial incident in Greensboro.

The North Carolina incidents, however, were not the first. Earlier protest movements took place in 1958 and 1959 in Kansas and Oklahoma with varied success. A survey in Oklahoma City, following a partially successful lunch-counter protest, indicated that more than 30 restaurants in the city opened their facilities to all customers. The Negro Youth Council, which conducted the survey, reportedly found that the new policies are sometimes forgotten and sometimes followed.

Leaders Role

If city officials and/or merchants involved in the North Carolina cities had moved quickly to bring about a satisfactory solution, it is doubtful if the movement would have spread or if there would have been the resultant turmoil evident in some of the cities. The humor in the situation is that, during the protests, white and Negro customers cheerfully ate side-by-side at standup lunch counters in each of the Winston-Salem three variety stores where sitdown facilities for whites were closed. All three desegregated standup counters had been in operation for some time prior to the beginning of the protests movement. One store, which did provide a sitdown lunch counter for Negroes, displayed a sign on the closed facilities inviting its Negro patrons to eat at the standup counter.

Solution

The current wave of demonstrations has continued to spread; and it is unlikely, if one can believe the young persons involved, that many demonstrations will cease for long unless there is assurance of a satisfactory solution in the near future. One newspaper reporter has said that ". . . adult Negro organizations have made it known to the students that they are prepared to join the protests if students want them to or if students decide to stop."

In the face of this determined effort by Negroes, a solution must be found. As the Southern Regional Council emphasized in a recent Special Report on the student protest, "the alternatives in the present situation are few and plain."

They are:

(1) "To maintain segregation: this is to invite a test of strength and to create the sort of atmosphere in which the apostles of violence will inevitably take over; it is also to alienate the Negro students, and educated Negroes generally, yet more severely from their

Protests

(Continued)

local communities."

(2) "To eliminate the beleaguered facility. Abolish lunch counters this time, and whatever else it is next time (schools, perhaps). The end of this is to have nothing left that is recognizable as a community."

(3) "Equal treatment. If Southerners are sensible, even if they have only a lively sense of self-interest, treatment will be equally good; if Southerners prefer, it can be equally bad. As profound as anything said in the lunch-counter controversy is the terse sentence of the student leader in Charlotte—and only the unthinking would regard it as arrogant: We are not only entitled to service, but we want it."

And, it is apparent that Negro leaders, both students and adults are willing to work with white leaders for a satisfactory solution when they are assured of good faith.

To the *Greensboro Daily News*' suggestion that stores might open their facilities to everyone on an unannounced date, Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, former President of Tuskegee Institute and Chairman of the Bennett College Board of Trustees in Greensboro, said:

" . . . To regret that anything happens to disturb the peace and tranquility of a community in its race relations is understandable, but once an issue has been joined or faced up to, there should be no turning back until the issue is successfully solved . . .

"I hope this issue will be promptly solved in line with the wise suggestions occurring in the Greensboro daily press. The change in relationships called for is a small one, that I feel confidently will be accepted by the citizens of Greensboro if a firm position of no discrimination is adopted and enforced.

"If such a decision is not forthcoming, then the quiet, orderly and dignified protest that was so wisely and courageously begun, of course, will be continued and could not be expected to be otherwise. This, in an enlightened community, can happen completely within the framework of law and order."

It is obvious, as Dr. Patterson says, that it is time for constructive minded citizens to offer to the South and the nation "the example of wisdom and decency which many over the nation—both Negro and white—are hoping for."

Find Peaceful Solution

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

The current student demonstrations against segregated lunch counters and restaurants in North Carolina and other states are manifestations of a new spirit and attitude on the part of Negroes which has come about since 1954. The Supreme Court decision against school segregation and the pronouncements of the major church bodies against racial segregation in general have given Ne-

groes a new sense of dignity and a new determination to achieve first class citizenship.

It would be a mistake, therefore, to look upon the current demonstrations simply as a wave of student pranks which will quickly subside. They are the result of accumulated frustrations on the part of students who are fully aware of their rights as American citizens and who believe that recognition of these rights is long overdue.

It would be a mistake also to assume that Negroes in general are not in sympathy with the students. While there are no doubt some differences of opinion as to method and strategy, the great majority of Negroes wholeheartedly approve the efforts of the students to break down barriers to the enjoyment of their full rights as citizens.

The lunch counter protests, with their spontaneous beginnings, their peaceful, non-violent methods, and their quiet persistence, have the appearance of a religiously motivated cause similar to the Montgomery, Alabama, bus strike of several years ago. In Montgomery, the failure of community leadership to sense the deep meaning and the strength of that protest brought tension, strife, and economic loss to that city for many months.

This must not happen in North Carolina. The time is *now* for state and community leadership to realize the serious and far-reaching nature of these movements and to move quickly toward finding peaceful and honorable solutions.

A way can be found to deal with the moral, legal and economic aspects of the problem. The American tradition of decency and fair play would seem to demand that downtown dining facilities should be available to anyone who needs them and can pay for them.

In accomplishing this objective, the dignity and freedom of every individual must be respected; business must be allowed to operate without interference; and the law must be respected.

Confidence in the basic good judgment and sense of fair play of the majority of our citizens could be our most valuable asset in solving the problem. Experience in many areas of desegregation—in churches, schools, airports, and auditoriums, and particularly in the Armed Forces—has taught us that where policy is firmly agreed upon and where people are expected to behave properly toward each other, they almost always do. Except for our fears, many of our problems would melt away.

The present situation presents a challenge to the people of North Carolina as well as a threat to peaceful and rewarding human relations. Let the leadership of North Carolina demonstrate its competency to find a solution which will preserve moral justice and, at the same time, permit no business to suffer economic loss.

It can be done.

"The whole business is an unhappy one. It is causing furors in New York and irritations in the South. A few cups of coffee might have settled this matter in North Carolina. Now with the arrest of Negroes the price may be much greater in terms of southern customs, a price to be paid in the United States Supreme Court toward which this whole matter now is clearly headed." — Jonathan W. Daniels, Editor, *Raleigh News and Observer*, quoted in the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Support Protests

Durham Committee on Negro Affairs

Although the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs was unaware officially or unofficially, of plans on the part of North Carolina College students to stage a 'sit-down' protest against discriminatory practices at the lunch counters in Woolworth and Kress stores, certain facets of this matter have caused the committee to take the position that it is entirely appropriate for it to make a statement in support of the orderly and dignified manner in which these students have sought to make our state and nation fully aware of a pattern of discrimination which hinders the development of wholesome relations between the various racial groups which compose the American citizenry.

"The appropriateness of this statement is heightened by the fact that portions of the daily press, certain public officials and other highly placed persons within the state have called upon the responsible Negro leadership (including college presidents) to use its influence to halt activities of Negro students and their white counterparts who have joined the movement. It is our opinion, that instead of expressing disapproval, we have an obligation to support any peaceful movement which seeks to remove from the customs of our beloved southland, those unfair practices based upon race and color which have for so long a time been recognized as a stigma on our way of life and a stumbling block to moral and economic progress of the region.

"Approximately two years ago, the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs conducted a survey of the 5 and 10 cent stores located in Durham. This survey indicated that between 50 and 60 per cent of the persons entering the Kress, Silvers and Woolworth stores, were colored people. Obviously, the students' protest is against a system which solicits and accepts the trade of Negro patrons while denying them employment opportunities and the use of dining facilities which are usually offered for the exclusive convenience of white and foreign patrons. This protest appears to recognize that although many thoughtful Southerners believe such practices to be morally wrong and economically unsound, the South as a whole, has not achieved sufficient maturity to move voluntarily toward eradicating such injustices as long as any vocal segment of the white population expresses its opposition. This protest also recognizes the historic failure and frustration of numerous efforts by Negro groups to negotiate changes in the present pattern through persuasion and conference. This view is adequately supported by a review of the important advances which have been made in the field of civil rights, almost all of which have occurred against the backdrop of litigation and mass protest.

"Unfortunately, or fortunately, Negro students throughout our land have been taught in both public and private

schools that they hold a citizenship status which is equal in all respects to that of every other American. It is commendable that in the face of obvious attempts to indoctrinate them to the contrary, they now emerge as a vital and strong group of stalwart citizens whose image of themselves is such that they are determined to accept no longer, the inferior status which the South still seeks to thrust upon them.

"The Negro citizens of our community hope for successful negotiations between student leaders and representatives of the various stores affected. We are also hopeful that these negotiations will lead to formation of fair employment practices and an enlightened policy providing for a cordial invitation to all patrons to use the dining facilities without being segregated according to race. It is reasonable to expect that the giant corporations of our country will find themselves in position to furnish leadership in matters of this kind. In like manner, it is reasonable to expect that our State officials will recognize their responsibility for having North Carolina live up to its reputation of being the enlightened, liberal and progressive state which our industry-hunters have been representing it to be. Indeed, it is urgently necessary that we shall prove ourselves to be, in fact, what we have been saying we are when talking to those corporations which we have invited to establish new factories within our borders on grounds that there is in North Carolina a climate of racial tolerance and understanding which will enable personnel coming from other sections of the country to live in an atmosphere consistent with the American ideals of freedom and equality for all.

"In conclusion, we commend these students for the dignified manner in which they have demonstrated the kind of poise and maturity which have enabled them to smile while being cursed, showered with eggs, and threatened with physical violence by irresponsible elements of our various North Carolina communities who would do well to acquire some of the qualities of good citizenship and understanding which have been shown by those who protest."

"With right on their side it is inevitable that the protests will spread, eventually including both white and Negro students in a Southwide movement to affirm the equal status of all citizens in public accommodations. The churches, where segregation is even more tragic, will not escape involvement. If negotiation and appeal fail, it is very likely that churchmen will find themselves picketing their own institutions and sitting down in restricted pews. Such demonstrative witness, motivated by love and expressed in a non-violent, passive resistance to evil, is thoroughly grounded in Christian teaching. Students at lunch counters and churchmen trying to set their house in order need only look to Jesus for both an example of direct assault on sin as well as for the strength to persevere." John B. Morris, *Director*, THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY OF CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY.

Outcome Up to Conscience And to Sense of Fair Play

By Charles Jones
Charlotte Student

We would like to express our appreciation for the fairness with which the Charlotte press handled our movement to be served at the lunch counters of the uptown stores. This fairness, we think, was also shown us by the citizens of Charlotte.

I think we have made our point for the present. For the moment, we leave the matters to the merchants and managers of the stores involved and to their sense of fair play.

We believe there was a strong undercurrent of sympathy for our movement among white citizens. That is why we are trusting now to fair play. Americans believe in fair play.

Fair play does not say that citizens of the Negro race can be served at counters one, two, three, four, and five, but not at counter six because counter six happens to sell food and drink.

No one can refute this claim by stating that a merchant can serve or refuse to serve anyone he desires. His preference certainly extends to those unable to pay and to those whose credit does not warrant delivery of goods.

But beyond this, service is a public right which stretches back into early Anglo-Saxon law governing innkeepers. Today the "inn-keeper" must prove in a civil suit that at the time service was denied, there was indeed "no room at the inn."

We do not rest our request for service on this alone. It goes deeper. We are not only entitled to service, but we want it. Nor will it serve the continued prosperity of this great city to forward rationalizations and pretexts such as "They were prodded by outside influences," and "They are very happy only the NAACP puts ideas into their heads."

This is arrant nonsense. In most of the large Southern cities the local Negro community has tried hard to prod the NAACP to more alert legal action.

The students' movement in Charlotte not only had no impetus from an "outside" source but was at pains to detach itself from "inside" advice and counsel, although we did not object to any parallel activity or statement anyone desired to make on their own initiative.

To believe the matter will lie dormant is equally naive. The Negro is not only an American, but a Southerner who shares with his white neighbor the same devotion to country and region.

Nothing more is involved than the privilege to walk upright as citizens of this community. While this goal may be delayed, it cannot be denied for much longer.

We believe our demonstration in the uptown stores has made our point for the moment, and for the moment, too, it is up to the courts; but even more important it is up to the conscience and the sense of fair play of our fellow citizens in Charlotte.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"We believe that this is not the time to slow or diminish in our efforts. But now is the time to persevere our cause until victory is won and justice prevails. We will demonstrate now in our passive way with even more determination than before, for we are convinced that we will not continue to strengthen the force that shuns us or cater to the force that denies us."

Carl Matthews, Chairman,
Student Protest Group,
Winston-Salem, N. C.,
Quoted in *Winston-Salem Journal*

* * *

"The time has indeed come when we must all face up to the facts, and realize that America cannot continue its present position of leadership in world affairs with the stigma of race prejudice and discrimination on the one hand, and grin-in-the-face tactics on the other. The season is here now."

Albert L. Rozier, Jr., Editor
The A&T *College Register*
Greensboro, N. C.

* * *

"Frankly, we'd like to go ahead and serve them. But we're going to stick with whatever the other (merchants) want to do. We feel like we have to go along with them."

Charlotte Merchant
in Board of Director's meeting,
Chamber of Commerce
Quoted in Charlotte Observer

". . . We imagine that the students are more aware than their elders are that they and their parents spend 18 billion dollars a year in these stores and shops, and that this kind of business is worth being treated with fairness and dignity. We hope that during a truce the merchants and the students and their representatives will get together and talk this thing over thoroughly."

From an editorial
in the *Journal and Guide*

* * *

"Before this lunch counter sit-down is resolved, somebody may have to eat crow, maybe Jim Crow."

From Paragraphics
in the *Greensboro News*

* * *

"If God moves in human history, is it not significant that our pretensions as 'The All America City' and during 'Brotherhood Week' should be exposed at this moment by fifty per cent of our citizens who also get hungry and who also pay the same money we do for food? 'In the fullness of time' Jesus Christ came to prick our dulled consciences and to show us the way to salvation. 'In the fullness of time' our fellow Negro citizens have reminded us of our shortcomings and have shown us the Christian spirit and way."

G. McLeod Bryan
Department of Religion
Wake Forest College
Quoted in *Winston-Salem Journal*